I: Tillev E-5 (1968) 1951 SG4 Araucanians SG4
Mapuche-Huilliche

weaving ponchos, blankets, belts, and drums. Water is fetched by women, although men sometimes lend a hand, and it is not unusual for women to raise garden produce, care for flocks of poultry, and help with some phases of farming and house building. 462 512.

Mapuche men are expected to do most of the heavy manual labor connected with farming, such as care for the oxen and horses, construct houses, gather fuel, and cut wood. They also make a few implements such as hockey sticks and simple flutes or whistles, and they serve as drivers whenever a journey has to be made by oxcart.

An observer from the United States is inevitably struck by the disproportionate amount of work that is done by children. In fact, a woman with grown but unmarried daughters and a man with unwed, adolescent sons may be said to live "in retirement." Such parents will, as a rule, lie abed late or remain indoors when the weather is bad, while the girls cook and look after the house and the boys attend to the outdoor chores. Regardless of weather it is a common sight to see boys as young as ten to twelve handling a yoke of oxen hitched to a plow or a cart (Pl. I, Figs. 1 and 2). It must not be thought that children are unhappy or resentful under these circumstances, for they are not. On the contrary, they are generally pleased to be treated as adults, and boys, especially, are proud and joyful to be entrusted with the responsibilities of grown-ups. 461 ● 58. 857

Araucanian men are frequently charged with being shiftless and lazy, and there is considerable truth to these accusations. Except at planting and harvesting times they do not exert themselves very much. One must realize, however, how few are the outlets or rewards for ambition. Those who live on reductions have little opportunity to gain money, and without money they cannot buy whatever may be necessary to better their condition. Consequently, as a group, the people tend to be apathetic, as though pervaded by a spirit of hopelessness. This applies particularly to young adults of both sexes, some of whom annually forsake the reservations in order to seek work in cities. 461 [98]

18: Hilger E-5 (1946-1952) 1957
SG4 Araucanians SG4
Argentina

ground, so located that the rear of the tolde was toward the prevailing winds. The distance between the poles depended on the size of the tolde to be erected and the size depended on the number of families that were to live in it. An ordinary one was from 25 to 30 feet from front to back. The six poles of equal length, in two sets of three, were set firmly into holes opposite to each other to form the two side walls. The three remaining poles were used to form the gable end—the end used as the entrance. The tallest pole was placed midway between the two side walls and in line with them. The two remaining poles were set one each to the sides of the tallest pole. The hide covering was then drawn over the poles from the rear to the gable end and tied to the poles with horsehide thongs. The meeting of the hide at the tallest pole provided the entrance. The covering had to be large enough so that its edge rested on the ground beyond the poles. Heavy stones were then laid along the edge to keep the wind from blowing in. Smoke found its way out through openings in the roof where hides overlapped. 342

Women sometimes decorated the inside of the tolde with paint made of white earth (*caolin*) or red earth (*kolil kuyu*) mixed with grease of rhea. It was applied with a wad of wool. "I like to think of those days," Kilapun reminisced, "when we used to visit back and forth, sitting in those attractively decorated toldos. We did not have to work as hard labor as we do today. All that men had to do was to tend their animals. I sometimes sit all day and think about those days." 353 HW

Hides used as tolde coverings were those of guanaco, horse, and cattle. Women directed the tanning of the hides and did much of the work themselves. All meat on the flesh side and also the thin skin under it were removed with a scraper made of hard stone sharpened along one edge. The stone was tied between two pieces of wood which formed the handle. The scraper was held with the palm of the hand downward, and moved toward the performer. A scraped hide was rubbed with a mixture of grease and salt and allowed to lie for several days. It was then washed and rubbed with a rubbing stone (*kuru quillali*) (pl. 34, *d*), back and forth and with a circular motion, to the degree of softness desired. Men, women, and children assisted in the rubbing. Liver of the animal to which the hide had belonged was now pounded over the inner surface of the hide and dried in the sun. "Give sun till when it is dry when it feels like wax to the touch. If the sun is hot, it may take only one day for drying." To remove the dried liver the hide is again rubbed with a rubbing stone, but with a finer surfaced one. Rubbing stones were 5 to 6 inches in height and 3 to 4 inches in diameter at the base. All specimens seen were of calfskins, both goat and light. Wool was not used in 342 241 tolderia hides.

11:Faron E-5 (1952-1954)1961 SG4 Araucanians SG4
Mapuche

ness and involved skirmishing and preparation for battle. Today, women cultivate gardens and men do field work. The transition to this situation seems to have been entirely dependent upon the cessation of hostilities and accommodation to reservation living.

Present-day Mapuche agricultural technology varies from the highly conservative hoe-and-dibble cultivation of vegetable gardens and small fields to the fullest utilization of modern farm machinery, and from complete lack of soil conservation to adequate rotation of crops, fields, and the application of fertilizer. Between these extremes are a number of agricultural techniques which, taken as a whole, characterize Mapuche farming operations.

In general, a steel plow is used in the preparation of fields, and ox traction prevails almost to the exclusion of horses. Wooden plows (*astas de cabo*) are occasionally employed, principally along the coast, if the ground is especially full of roots and it is feared that the steel plow may be blunted or its tip broken. If the wooden plow breaks, it can be replaced or repaired fairly easily. The cost of repairing or replacing a steel plow is prohibitive, and breaking the steel point is considered a very great misfortune. The single-share plow is one of the most expensive pieces of equipment owned by the Mapuche.

Oxen are said to be preferred to horses for plowing, and the technique of handling plow horses is not generally known. This also holds for Chilean farmers in the region. It is further maintained that oxen provide more traction than horses and greater durability. It is certain that they require less expensive fodder and less care.

Working about eight hours a day with a single team of oxen and a steel plow, a man needs about three days to plow two hectares of land, which is perhaps all or at least half of the field acreage used by many Mapuche in any one year. Fields often receive a second plowing, rarely a third. If a second plowing is made, the pattern is to make furrows which crosscut each other. This is primarily to break up the clods, rather than to hold rain water. A third plowing is usually diagonal to the first two.

If the second or third plowing takes place in the planting season, the seeds may simply be broadcast before the final plowing, provided the *barbecho* has not been prepared too long in advance and the land has remained fairly soft. Otherwise, the field will be plowed prior to broadcasting the seeds and then harrowed just after the sowing. The triangular-type harrow is the most common one in general use, having either wooden or iron-spike teeth. A heavy log roller (*rodón*) may be

11:Faron E-5 (1952-1954)1961 SG4 Araucanians SG4
Mapuche

only by Mapuche who have very large holdings. The paid crews that work the harvesting and threshing machinery of the Chilean entrepreneur are composed of both Mapuche and Chileans, who accompany the machines in their slow peregrinations throughout the rural districts surrounding the towns.

Mechanization has taken hold in the reservation areas. All the larger and better-equipped *fundos* have harvesting and threshing machinery for hire and there are harvesters and mobile threshers that make a tour of the countryside wherever the roads permit. As the wheat and oats ripen, the machines are already busy in the more favored parts of the Central Valley. The Mapuche await them as they pass from one reservation to the next, with a feeling of exuberant expectancy. It is common for a man to walk a mile or more to watch the machine harvest the first fields in the vicinity and to examine the thresher carefully even when it is not in operation.

Eventually the harvester reaches one's fields. It is manned by a single operator and drawn by a double yoke of oxen, also owned by the entrepreneur. Part of the equipment consists of high, cribbed carts, also ox-drawn, which are pulled alongside the harvester to receive the wheat as it is pulled up the conveyer belt.

The Indians themselves provide the animals which draw these carts and they participate in the labor, inasmuch as they guide the carts and pitch the wheat into a huge pile where it stands until threshing time. This operation is often done on a *vuelta mano* basis, since a single family seldom has sufficient oxen for the work.

The machine operator is not paid by the owner of the crop immediately after his work is done, since payment is made in bags of grain and must await threshing. The family, however, invites him to a meal after his work is finished.

Soon the thresher comes, pulled by a tractor which is later used to power the drive wheel of the machine after it has been set up alongside the stack of wheat. The machine is generally operated by a trained crew of about half a dozen men who are supervised by the owner of the equipment or his representative. None of the local Indians assist with the threshing, there is no *vuelta mano*, and the family itself has nothing to do except watch. *Murke* is set out for the workers to drink while they are engaged in feeding the thresher. After the grain is threshed, the workers and the owner are generally fed a good meal, possibly goose or pork, and are given a lot of *chicha* or *murke* to drink. After the workers have moved on, the family con-